

ADDRESS

OF

MR. A. WHITNEY,

BEFORE THE

LEGISLATURE OF PENNSYLVANIA,

ON HIS

PROJECT FOR A RAILROAD

FROM

LAKE MICHIGAN TO THE PACIFIC.

HARRISBURG, PA.:

I. G. M'KINLEY & J. M. G. LESCURE, PRINTERS.

.....
1848.

Seligman
ISH&A
W611

ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN:—I come before your honorable body to explain a project for a railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific ocean, which, with the links joining from the Atlantic, will make one continued line of railroad from ocean to ocean, of 3,000 miles in extent, and which, at the rate of 30 miles per hour, (only about half the railroad speed in England,) can be traveled in less than 5 days.

In order that you may the more clearly understand my explanations, see our actual position on the globe, as compared with the other parts of the world, and see the object and intent of this great work, that of bringing the commerce of *all* Europe with *all* Asia across this continent, I have prepared and beg to refer you to a skeleton map.

All the maps which we have heretofore studied, have been made with particular regard to the position of Europe—Europe, Asia and Africa placed together, and our continent one side of all, as if of no importance. While here you see by this map, that we are in the centre of all—Europe on the one side, with 250,000,000 of population, and all Asia on the other side of us, with 700,000,000 of souls. The Atlantic separating us from Europe, and the calm Pacific between us and Asia, and you will see that the population and the commerce of all the world is on this belt of the globe, which makes a straight line across our continent.

(Mr. Whitney here explained on his map the positions of the different commercial points, both in Europe and Asia, as directly connected with his project, making its importance clear to all who heard him. He then said:)

In order that you may understand the whole subject, I will first explain its position and progress. I presented a memorial to the last session of 28th Congress, praying for a grant of, or that 60 miles wide of the public lands, might be set apart to furnish means to construct a railroad from some point on Lake Michigan, to the Pacific ocean, representing the object and great importance of the proposed work, and setting forth the plan by which it could be carried out; that of connecting the sale and settlement of the land appropriated, with the building of the road. Said memorial was referred to the Committee on Roads and Canals, and a unanimous report in its favor adopted.

During the summer of 1845, with a company of young gentlemen from several different States, I explored and examined a portion of the route. My object was to examine the soil and surface, and to ascertain if that part of the route (then not fully known) was practicable for a railroad; if the lands would be likely to sell and settle and produce means for the work. If material, timber, stone, &c., could be had on the route, if the streams could be bridged, and where. The soil and surface far exceeded my expectations, giving a far more favorable route than on any other part of the globe. I found timber on the border of the lake, and a little 90 miles west of the Mississippi river—then there is none on to the Rocky mountains. I found stone probably sufficient for bridging the streams which can be bridged—the Mississippi at or near Prairie du Chien, and the Missouri at, above, Council Bluffs, but at no place below that point.

At the commencement of the 29th Congress, I again presented a memorial, praying the same object, which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands in the Senate. The subject was thoroughly examined in all its bearings, and the committee unanimously reported in its favor, and introduced a bill granting the land prayed for. The bill passed to a second reading, and ordered printed, with the report. No further action at that session.

During the last session, the committee, though composed in part of different members, was unanimous in its favor; but it being a short session, with the Mexican war, and other exciting subjects, action was prevented.

Strong expressions have been made throughout the country by the public press almost universally, by public meetings in many of our large cities, and resolutions by Legislatures of several States, 17 having, by almost a unanimous vote, approved of, instructed and requested their delegates to Congress to vote for it. Still, the work is so large, promising such vast results, that the mind is in many instances frightened from a fair investigation of the project, or the simplicity of the work itself.

I hope, in examining this great subject, that comparison with all other works or projects will be entirely abandoned or excluded from the mind, as no such comparison can justly be made. Here is no stock to subscribe to, and no dividends to earn: the route an entire wilderness, the earth the capital stock, and the labor of man to be applied thereto, to bring forth the abundant means for its accomplishment.

I start upon the ground that no work, no enterprise, is too great, too magnificent, when dependent alone upon the labor of man for its accomplishment, furnishing itself the sure and sufficient reward for that labor.

The first consideration for any work or project is, its feasibility and means to carry it out.

The feasibility of this project I will first explain. We all know the topography of the Mississippi valley or basin; that from the Rocky mountains and the great lakes, to the base of the Alleghenies, and to the Gulf, is one inclined plane, without rock, mountain, or even hill, and without impediment to the construction of a railroad, except when the streams cannot be bridged; and when the bottom lands are too wide and too soft for such a work.

From the lake to the pass in the mountains, a railroad may be built on a straight line by compass, if you please. From the lake to the Missouri, the grade for any one mile would not exceed 25 feet; thence to the pass in the mountains the average grade is about 6 feet; thence to the Ocean the route is more difficult, though perfectly feasible, as may be seen from the Senate's committee report, p. 4, 5 and 6, and as may also be seen from the able report of Col. Fremont, which exhibits a scale of daily elevations from the Missouri river to Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia river, and as has been represented to me by Col. Fremont himself, Mr. Fitzpatrick and many others, who have been to and returned from Oregon; and, as the Senate's committee say, "a consideration of the facts in the premises, therefore, leaves no doubt of the practicability of the proposed route for a railroad from the shore of Lake Michigan to the navigable waters of the Columbia river."

This point seems settled.

And now we will consider the means for the accomplishment of this great work.

It is not at all probable that Congress will ever appropriate money for such a work, and there are serious objections to the carrying on of such a work by the General Government. In the first place, it would require years to complete a survey, and then the route must be fixed upon by Congress, causing further delay, and most likely the work would never be commenced; and surely, like the Cumberland road, would never be completed, and always subject to being made a powerful party political engine, drawing the earnings and means from one section of the Union to be squandered in another, upon the hirelings of aspirants to office.

I do not ask for a survey; I do not ask for one dollar in money, and can commence the work so soon as the grant is made. The route from the lake to the river could be fixed upon, and the work commenced without delay. To the mountains the route is well known, and while the work is progressing from the lake, the entire route could be examined, surveyed and fixed upon.

It is a work beyond the power of individual enterprise, nor can it be done by States not yet formed. An entire wilderness, it becomes absolutely necessary to connect the settlement of the country with the building of the road—being impossible without it.

I have sought to and believe have matured a plan which shall leave with Congress the power of control, and of holding all as security, making it a national road; while at the same time the work would be carried on as an individual enterprise, freed from the immense government patronage which, as a government work, it would create, and also freed from the delays, expenses, and insurmountable difficulties sure to arise from constant legislative changes of direction. I ask Congress to set apart (not grant to me)

60 miles wide of the public land from Lake Michigan to the Pacific Ocean, for this especial purpose.

I make the starting point from the Lake Michigan first, as the road would add value to the lands; and as the land is the only source of means, the road must be located where the land on its line could be applicable to it. Land, distant from the road, could not be made available, and therefore the project would fail. There is no point south of this route where the public lands could be made to produce means for the work, and there is no point south where the streams can be bridged. Your own experience must, I think, satisfy you *all* of the impossibility of bridging the principal streams of this great valley of the Mississippi below the route I have selected, and the Rio Grande would be equally impossible. The commerce which we expect on this road, could not be accommodated by ferrying the streams: transshipments must be avoided: a cargo of merchandize put on the road at either ocean, must not be changed until arrived at its destination in the interior or the ocean.

There are other important reasons why this should be the starting point. It is all-important to have a cheap and direct water communication with the Atlantic while the road is being built, to take laborers, settlers, and materials to the starting point; to have easy communication with a settled country around to furnish food for the laborers and settlers, till they can produce for themselves. It is necessary to have timber and other materials convenient, and there is timber on the boarder of the lake, and could be taken on by the road; but from any other starting point, on either the Mississippi or Missouri rivers, the difference in cost of transit for the material alone would forbid the commencement of the work; and it is all-important that the starting point should be from where timber can be taken on by the road for settlers, for building and fences for that immense distance of 1200 miles, where there is none, and could not be gotten there, except by the proposed road.

A starting point may be had somewhere between Greene Bay and Milwaukee, where nearly the 60 miles wide to the Mississippi may be found unoccupied, and for that already occupied an equivalent somewhere else; but should the commencement be delayed over for a short time, the public lands, from the lake to the Mississippi river, would be so much taken up, as to entirely defeat the work forever. The lands beyond the Mississippi could not be made available for settlement or for means to build the road, until a means of communication by railroad could first be had, and even then the lands beyond would not produce sufficient funds to accomplish the work.

From the Mississippi through to the ocean, is an entire wilderness. From the lake onward for 800 miles, the land is of the very best quality for the production of bread-stuffs, the surface beautiful, without rock or mountain, or even hill, just enough rolling and descending to let the water off; all covered with a rich grass ready for grazing or for harvest, and enough for millions of cattle, and no preparation wanted for a crop; the farmer wants but the plough, the seed, the scythe and the sickle.

About 300 miles of this 800, except on the border of the lake, there is timber only sufficient for agricultural purposes, buildings and fences; the other 500 miles, and so onward to the mountains, entirely without timber, but as there is an abundance of coal all on to the mountains, and timber in the northern part of Wisconsin, this is no objection, because timber can be taken on by the road at low tolls, sufficient for buildings and fences, to places where there is none cheaper than the lands could be cleared, so that for settlers, particularly those from Europe not accustomed to clearing lands, with the road it is better without than with timber, but without the road can never be settled. After this 800 miles to the pass in the mountains, the land is represented as very poor, too poor to sustain settlement, but I am inclined to believe the facilities which the road would create must make a part of it productive and useful.

From the Pass to the Ocean I am disposed, from the information which I have been able to procure, to believe there are more lands suitable for culture and grazing than we have inferred from different writers.

It has been estimated that the road will be from the lake to the ocean 2,400 miles, but the actual distance from the lake to the ocean, allowing 260 miles for detour, will not exceed 2,030 miles. And it is estimated that a good road, single track, heavy

rail, with turnouts, can be built for \$20,000 per mile, amounting to,	\$40,600,000
And as the road, except this side of the Missouri, could not earn any income until all is completed to the ocean, and must be kept in operation for its construction, a further sum for repairs, operation and machinery, would be required of	20,000,000

Making the total sum when ready for operation.	<u>\$60,600,000</u>
--	---------------------

But it has been estimated as high as \$100,000,000.

The 2,030 miles by 60 wide, would give to this work 77,952,000 acres of waste land; 800 miles on the first part is good, say 30,720,000 acres less for waste land and ordinary expenses of sale, and allow that by the road it might be made to average the present government price, \$1½ per acre, would produce 32,832,000 dollars. Thence to the ocean is 1,230 miles, or 47,232,000 acres, the greater part of which is represented as being too poor to sustain settlement; but allow the facilities which the road would undoubtedly create, to make it average one-half the present government price, and deduct 5 per cent. for expenses of sale, and we have \$27,044,000, together \$59,879,000, or a little less than the estimated cost of the road. But suppose the graduation bill to become a law, fixing the minimum price of lands 10 years in market, at 25 cents per acre for any of the best, and this 77,952,000 acres would at the full price for all, amount to but \$19,488,000. This then is the capital stock for this great work, to be brought into life and use only by the work itself.

It will be seen that the entire project depends upon the 800 miles of land on the first part of the route, which is fast being taken up by settlers, and will soon be so much so with the location of the soldiers' bounty lands, as to defeat the project forever; for I do not believe there can ever be any other means than the public lands, and when they (the first part of the route) are gone, all is gone forever; more than 1,200 miles without timber, and mostly very poor lands, can never settle without the road to give the only means of communication with civilization and markets.

I will now explain the simple plan by which I propose to carry out this great work. As I have before said, I do not ask Congress to grant to me one acre of land until the road is built in advance. I first build 10 miles at my own expense, which will cost \$20,000 per mile. One mile of the land 60 miles wide is 38,400 acres, allowing for waste land and expenses of sale, will at \$1½ per acre, produce about \$40,000, equal to build two miles of good road. When the 10 miles is completed to the satisfaction of a commissioner appointed by the government, then, and not till then, I take five miles or one-half of the lands, with which to reimburse myself—the other half, with the road held by the government or sold, as the demand for settlement may require, and as Congress shall direct, at public auction in lots of from 40 to 160 acres, and so on for the 800 miles, or so far as the one-half will furnish means to build the 10 miles of road, and afterwards on to the mountains and to the ocean. When the entire 60 miles wide of poor lands do not furnish means to complete the road through them, then the fund which may have been created and held by the government in trust, from the sale of the one-half of good lands before named, or the lands shall be applied to this purpose, but in all cases the 10 miles of road must be built, in advance of receiving any lands or money from lands sold.

The bill will provide that the title never vest in me at all, but, those who purchase lands under contract with me, receive their title directly from the General Land Office, subject to the approval of the Commissioner, and requiring his certificate that my part has been performed; and in case of failure to perform my part, the settler will be entitled to a pre-emption right and pay to the Government for his land—all lands sold at auction to be sold as the government lands now are, and patents issue direct to the purchasers from the General Land Office; all lands remaining ten years after the road is completed, to be sold in like manner.

The road being built from the public lands as stipulated, would when done be considered as public property, for the use of the whole of the union, and not subject to tolls beyond sufficient to keep it in repairs and operation. And in order to attain the

object we aim at, (to make it the thoroughfare for the commerce of all Asia) it will be necessary to keep it under one general management, so that its operations may be regular and punctual from one end to the other, which should be controlled and fixed by Congress, under individual management and responsibility the same as the building of the road.

It will be perceived that this plan does not propose any reward for carrying on and completing this great work, except in the lands at the government price for the actual outlay; and the government cannot in any way be responsible for its success—failing the government lose nothing; and I take upon myself the hazard of making the lands yield sufficient means for the work—failing I get nothing. I have, therefore, asked for the balance, should there be any, after the road is completed, and after paying for the lands—but not till then. And to prevent the government from being subject to any expense, either for the road or for its operations, while it may be considered as an experiment, I have proposed that the surplus lands, if any, be held subject to the road until so far established as to be able from its earnings to provide for itself. And to obviate the objection to the road being owned by the government, I have proposed to pay (when so far advanced as to render its completion sure) 16 cents per acre for all the lands, but to be held by the government, so as not to be applied to any other purpose than the accomplishment of this work; Congress to prescribe the mode of sale of the lands, if thought necessary, but to fix and regulate the tolls of the road at each session ever after. Thus it would be a national road, entirely under the control of Congress, yet not involving the government in any expenditures; creating or causing no government patronage, or political party influence, but carried on purely as an individual enterprise, freed from any and every constitutional objection. The constitution expressly and declaredly, *not impliedly*, gives to Congress the power of controlling and disposing of the public lands, which has been exercised at every session by various grants, donations and by sales; the machinery of the latter is no small part of that branch of our government called the treasury, even forming a separate and distinct bureau with various agents in all the States and Territories, where we hold public lands.

Those who have been the most rigid in the construction of the constitution, have declared that the government, as proprietor, have an unquestioned right to dispose of a part in order to benefit the whole.

Mr. Calloun, in the last Congress, declared this to have been his conviction and action in all cases. But I even go beyond all this, for in the end I pay for all the land appropriated for this work, at 16 cents per acre, but not until the road is so far advanced as to render its completion sure to the nation. Although as I pass with the road through the 800 miles of good land on the first part of the route, and take the alternate five miles to re-imburse myself, and the government holding the other, is it because if I paid for the lands and took all as I go on, the government and the people would have no assurance that the road would be continued beyond the good lands, and the increased value which the road would give to the lands would perhaps be a temptation beyond the virtue or patriotism of man to resist, and the road would never extend beyond the good lands, and we fail to accomplish the great object which we set out for; but the holding back the alternate five miles, the others being settled, and the road in operation through all, the value would be greatly enhanced thereby, creating the means to continue the road through the poor lands, and renders it certain and sure that the road will be continued and completed, and that you will gain even far more than you expect, and in the end are twice paid for the lands; first, the lands must be sold for means to build the road, which amount goes directly to the people for labor and materials, and every section of our country must share in this benefit; then I pay to the government the 16 cents per acre for all the lands, good, bad and indifferent, set apart for this work, for the 77,952,000 acres I should pay \$12,472,320, or about \$7,000,000 less than the graduation bill proposes to reduce this amount of government lands, all good. I say proposes to reduce, because I take it for granted, that no man will pay full price, when, by squatting for 10 years, he need pay but 25 cents per acre.

It must be known to all, that there is but a very small part of these lands, this side of the mountains, which can possibly be sold at any price or settled without this road,

and all know that through the mountains, and nearly to the ocean, the lands are generally represented as impossible of, or too poor to sustain, settlement, and could never be of any value or even use without this road; and it is also known that the bill forming a territorial government for Oregon, proposes to give to the settlers nearly or quite all the desirable lands, which must be provided against or this work cannot be carried out. Therefore, with all these considerations and facts, it is believed the sum proposed is far beyond the present value of the lands, and in the sale or disposal of which for this purpose, there can be no constitutional question or doubt involved.

Some have fancied that the term "national road or national work," might mean, embrace or involve internal improvements by the government, but this cannot be, the government enters into none of its machinery, the *whole Union* own the lands, and sell them for this express purpose. The condition of sale is, after first receiving a stipulated sum for *all* the lands, that each and every section and interest of our great Union may participate in all the benefits to result from this work, and to secure this, as I consider, all important condition, Congress retains the power to control the operation of the road and to fix its tolls ever after. Thus, in that fact, it will be a national road, and still an individual enterprise, and surely there can be no constitutional or other objections to such a national road as this promises to be.

It has already been shown, that this plan is founded entirely upon the wilderness lands; but I think all must be persuaded that the facilities which the road would undoubtedly give to settlement, would furnish means quite as fast as it could be applied to its construction, and the building of which would be of vast benefit to the settlers.

With this road commenced, how changed would be the condition of emigrants; now they land upon our shores, and from their inexperience in a strange land, their little means is soon wasted, and many become burdensome to our citizens, and those who go to the far west are obliged, from necessity, to select their home remote from any means of communication with markets, without any return for labor until the first crop is grown, and then the cost of transit takes all; nothing left for an exchange for other comforts and necessities of life. He is surrounded with an abundance of earthly products, and still wants; he does not get a reward for his labor, and to aid in sustaining the other branches of industry.

But commence this road, and the emigrant would have a fixed point of destination. He would not be detained in our cities, but pass on through our rivers, canals, railroads and the lakes, direct to his new home. If he had 50, 100 or more dollars, he could give one half towards paying for his land, the other half would build his cabin and get in his first crop. Then his labor on the road would be wanted to pay the balance for his land. The next season his crops ripened and wanted by those who come as he did the season before, with the road to take any surplus to market. And those who come without money, their labor on the road would purchase the land, and they too would soon become independent. And what would be its moral influence? Necessity often, yes almost always, tempts man to vice and crime, but place him where his labor receives its just and proper reward, and you elevate him. I care not how low he may have been, you raise him to what his Creator intended—to a man—and he may rear an offspring, respectable, honorable, and filling the highest places in the land.

It has been objected that such a work cannot be built and carried on through a wilderness. In answer I say, if it was not a wilderness I could not have the lands, the only means for such a work; and I propose, by the work itself, to change the wilderness waste to cities, towns, villages and richly cultivated fields.

It is also objected that our country is not old enough, and without population sufficient to embark in an enterprise so vast. I answer, we have already about 8,000 miles of railroad in operation, at a cost or outlay of about \$160,000,000. That our population is at this time 21,000,000, and will double in twenty-two years. And if we have been able, up to this time, with our small population and smaller means, to complete the 8,000 miles, by the double of our population, and consequent double of means, we shall be as able to double the miles of railroad; and the comparison is greatly in favor of the future, because many of our present railroads are exclusively means of travel and have not developed sources of production and wealth. Our increase of

population, in 22 years, will give for this road and the Pacific coast 11,000,000, and leave 10,000,000 for the present States. But let us see what we do want for this road. I make my calculations and predicate the whole upon the sale and settlement of the first 800 miles; therefore this 800 miles, by 60 wide, would give 30,720,000 acres. Now allow 160 acres for each family of 5 persons, and it would require 192,000 families, or together 960,000 souls. It will require, from the commencement, 5 years to complete this 800 miles, and 15 years for the entire road; and to sell and settle all of the 800 miles in 5 years, would require, per annum, 38,400 families, or 192,000 souls; but as it is not necessary to sell and settle more than half, while the entire 800 miles is being built, 19,200 families, or 96,000 souls, per annum, is all that would be required, which is less than one seventh of our now yearly increase of population, and only about one-third of what we may expect the yearly immigration from Europe during that period.

The question has been asked by many, "how is the road to be protected from the Indians, through a wilderness of such vast extent? and how is it to be supplied with water and fuel? and what will support and keep it up?" To the first I answer, if the road is built it can only be done by the sale of the lands and settlement of the country on its line, which will be a sufficient protection, and through where the land is poor, the constant business and operation of the road would protect it. The Indian disappears with the game, and it cannot be supposed that game, such as Buffalo and Elk, the dependence of the Indian, would remain long in the vicinity of a railroad constantly in use, as this must be, even for its construction.

Fuel and water, of the former, coal, there is an abundance, all to the Rocky mountains; and on the other side it has been found on the Columbia river and at Vancouver's island. Water, to the Missouri, we cross living streams, each 10 to 20 miles. From the Missouri to the pass in the mountains, we go parallel with, and if necessary, directly on the banks of rivers from the pass to the ocean, probably follow the courses of the streams. The last question is answered partly by the answer to the first, that the settlement which must take place, or the road cannot be built, would of itself maintain it, and it will be seen that this will be the shortest, cheapest and most direct route, even from Europe to Asia, all the islands of the Pacific and Indian ocean.

The voyage from London, or our Atlantic cities, to China, around the Cape of Good Hope, is estimated at not less than 17,000 miles, requiring from 100 to 160 days for its performance, and 10 to 12 months for the voyage out and home, and the same for all the commerce with all Asia; our whale vessels are absent 2 to 4 years.

In consequence of the long distance and time required, our commerce with Asia, (China particularly, as we have comparatively but small amount with any other part, owing to the power and influence of, and control which England holds over all) is limited to a few articles, but with this road built it would be increased beyond the power of human calculation to estimate, and must all be done by our own ships and our own men; as the Asiatics are not, and never can be, a maritime people, we must be their carriers.

This road would necessarily and undoubtedly be joined from all the important Atlantic and Gulf cities, when from any of which it would be to Japan, with its 50 to 100,000,000 of souls, but 7,000 miles, requiring but 19 days by steam for its performance. To Shang-Hoi in China, at the mouth of the great Yang-tse-Keang, (which near its mouth is crossed by the great canal to Peking) and where all the commerce of this vast empire of 500,000,000 of souls now centres, and where all its foreign commerce must centre when this route is opened, is but 8,400 miles, requiring but 24 days for its performance. To Australia but 9,000 miles, requiring but 26½ days; and to Singapore, where all the commerce of Europe with India would centre, is but 10,600 miles, requiring but 29½ days; and all this commerce and intercourse might be carried on by steam, because there is an abundance of coal in Vancouver's island, at Japan, at China, as low down as Formosa, and at the high latitudes of Australia, and the distance, from point to point, is within the capacity of a vessel to carry fuel, but which could not be done from any other point on the Pacific.

The commerce and intercourse from this route with all Asia and even Africa, may be carried on along the coast never out of sight of the land. What a picture, what a glorious prospect. Very soon the various lines of steamers from Oregon to Japan, to China, to all the islands and to all Asia, would far outnumber those of any of our Atlantic cities of the present day.

The saving of time so all important to the merchant, giving him the control of markets, would force commerce over this route even at much higher tolls, but which would not be necessary as will be seen—eighteen dollars per ton measurement being the very lowest rate from China to New York per ship around the Cape Young Hyson, the heaviest description of teas, and about the third class article in weight and bulk, and compares with flour, requires two tons measurement for one ton weight.

From China to the terminus of this road on the Pacific, seven dollars per ton measurement would be a large freight compared with from our Atlantic cities to Europe; thence to the lake 2,030 miles. As the road would not earn dividends one half a cent per ton per mile would be sufficient for repairs and operation, and would be \$5 08 more; thence to the Atlantic, say 1,000 miles, and roads to earn dividends, at one cent per ton weight per mile would be \$5 more, in all \$17 08 for one ton measurement from China to the Atlantic cities, via. the Oregon railroad, and less than can be done via. the Cape of Good Hope by ship.

The commerce of Europe with Asia in which we do not now participate to the value of one dollar, amounts to an aggregate annually of \$250,000,000, employing about 2,000 ships, of a tonnage in weight of at least 1,200,000, and employing about 50,000 seamen; all this immense commerce would be changed to this new route, and at the tolls above named (one half cent per ton weight per mile,) would give to this road \$12,180,000 per annum, and to the roads leading to and connecting with it from the Atlantic and Gulf cities \$12,000,000 more, making the sum of \$24,180,000 per annum, which the commerce of Europe with Asia would be tributary to us alone for transit across our continent, and which is small compared with all the other advantages to grow out of and be subject to it, so that it is possible the road would not be able to accommodate all the business now ready for it, but not probable there would not be business enough to support it.

It will be seen from actual calculation, that there is no other route across our continent to China so short by several thousand miles, and none other which would change the present route for the commerce of Europe with Asia. A route has been talked of from Charleston, through Louisiana, Texas and Mexico to Mazatlan, which to China would be 2,342 miles greater distance than from Charleston to China by this route, and through a country not our own. Even were the distance the same, and country our own, could the Mississippi, the Rio Grande and other streams be bridged, and would not the road be swept away, or its operation prevented by the yearly flooding of those streams? and is there any other means for such a work than individual subscription? and do you believe there is a man in all the United States who would subscribe one dollar to such a stock? Were it built it must charge tolls for dividends, and would cost for the transit of one ton weight from Charleston to Mazatlan \$2 53 more than from Charleston to Oregon via. the proposed road, and from Charleston to China \$9 03 for one ton weight more than by this road.

Philadelphia would be nearer to Oregon by this than to Mazatlan by the southern route 107 miles, and 3,507 miles nearer to China. Pittsburg 646 miles nearer to Oregon than to Mazatlan, and 3,646 miles in favor of this route to China. From Philadelphia to Oregon would cost \$10 18 per ton weight transit less than to Mazatlan, and \$16 68 less to China. From Pittsburg to Oregon \$7 69 per ton weight less than to Mazatlan, and \$14 19 less to China via. this route. Philadelphia would have 100 miles advantage over New York, and 300 over Boston, and 150 over Charleston and Savannah, and a corresponding advantage in expense of transit; and New Orleans would be 300 miles nearer to the starting point than New York. It appears to me so plain the interests of *all*, and more particularly that of your great State, indicates this as the only route, that comment is unnecessary. From China to Pittsburg would cost \$14 19,

and from China to Philadelphia \$16 68 less for the transit of one ton weight of teas than by the southern route, a difference of nearly half the present cost around the cape.

A canal at Panama, Nicaragua and Tehuantepec, has been mooted for nearly two hundred years, surveys and explorations made, but all rests where it commenced, and will, undoubtedly then rest forever, a fit subject for newspaper articles when there is nothing else.

I might amuse you with the different surveys and explorations all of which I have examined, but that would not benefit you or the world, and therefore I will give you facts only, which will show conclusively, that a canal or railroad at either place would not change the route for the commerce of Europe with Asia, or even that of our own. In these go-ahead times we look to the saving of distance and time as far more important even than expense; one day gives the merchant the control of markets and his fortune is made, but one day too late and a fortune is lost. Now with all the speculations upon Panama, Nicaragua and Tehuantepec, no one has examined or calculated to see if any thing in distance could be gained, and it is my task to put before the public the actual distances to the principal commercial marts in Asia via. the present sea voyage, via. a proposed canal, as also, via. railroad to Oregon. My calculations are for a canal or railroad at Panama, and though Nicaragua and Tehuantepec, are a few degrees north and west, the distance would not be increased or diminished, but the navigation to which from Europe, would be far more dangerous and difficult than to Panama.

From London to Panama, 81° of longitude, and 42° of latitude must be overcome, and which, on a straight line, would vary little from	5,868 miles.
From Panama to Canton is 170° of longitude, measuring full 60 miles to the degree, is	10,200 "

Making, from London to Canton, on a line,	16,068 "
---	----------

Now from Canton to England, via. the Cape of Good Hope, during the North-east monsoon, is :

From Canton through the China Sea to the Equator,	1,320 "
From the Equator to Sunda straits, to 12° South latitude,	750 "
Through the region of South-east trades to 27° South latitude, and 50° East longitude,	3,200 "
Thence to the Cape of Good Hope,	1,560 "
And from the Cape to London,	6,900 "
	13,730 "

Again—From Canton to London, via. the Cape of Good Hope, during South-west Monsoon, is :

From Canton to the Straits of Formosa,	480 "
Thence to Pitt's Straits, passing near the Pillow islands,	1,300 "
Thence to Allas' Straits,	1,200 "
Thence to 27° South latitude, and 50° East longitude,	3,900 "
Thence to the Cape,	1,560 "
And thence to London,	6,900 "
	15,340 "

In the first instance, the route by canal would increase the distance

between London and Canton,	2,338 "
And in the latter,	728 "

The distances, both for a canal and, via. the Cape, are calculated for a straight line from point to point, but owing to trades and currents, a sail-vessel could not make either voyage on a straight line; and the voyage from London to China is estimated at not less than 17,000 miles, and it would be increased in same manner and proportion for any canal route.

Now from London to New York is 74° of longitude, at 45 miles, is,	3,330 miles.
Thence to Puget Sound or Columbia river, via. proposed railroad,	2,963 "
Thence to Shang-hae. in China, 115° longitude, at 47 miles, is	5,405 "

Making from London to China via. New York, and via. railroad, 11,698 "

For the railroad part of this route, the actual distance, from surveys, is taken to the Mississippi river, thence to the ocean 250 miles is allowed for windings or detour; the sea part of this route may be made, by steam, on a line, and a saving from London to China, over the canal route on a line, of 4,370 miles, and equal to more than 6,000 miles, under influence of trades and currents, and the distance, such that steam could be used, which could not be on the canal route, because the distance from point to point is beyond the capacity of a vessel to carry fuel, and the saving, in time, would be immense.

Again—From England to Singapore via. a proposed canal during the North-east Moosoon, is :

From London through canal at Panama, - - - -	5,868 miles.
Thence to Singapore, on a line 180° of longitude, at 60 miles, -	10,800 "
	16,668 "

Now from London to Singapore via. the Cape of Good Hope, during the North-east Monsoon, is :

From London to the Cape, - - - -	7,730 "
Thence past the island of Amsterdam and St. Paul's, to 105° East longitude, and between 39 and 30° South latitude, -	4,320 "
Thence to Anger Point, - - - -	1,740 "
And thence to Singapore, - - - -	560 "
	14,350 "

or 2,318 miles against a canal.

Now from London to New York, as before, - - -	3,330 "
Thence to Oregon by railroad, - - -	2,963 "
Thence to Singapore, 132° longitude, at 55 miles, is - -	7,260 "
	13,553 "

or 3,115 miles less than straight lines, via. a proposed canal, and may be accomplished by steam, at a saving of more than half, in time.

Again—From England to Valparaiso, via. Cape Horn, is - -	9,400 miles.
Do. do. proposed canal, is - -	8,978 "

Difference in favor of Canal of 422 miles, but not sufficient to change the route, - - - - 422 "

By reference to a globe, it will be seen that a vessel any where on the coast from Panama to Mazatlan, and bound to China, would save more than two thousand miles in distance, by first proceeding to Oregon, and thence to China, and the only route where a supply of fuel could be had for steamers. And it will also be seen that, in crossing the globe within the tropics, the degree of longitude measures fully 60 miles, while on a curve of 46° on a line 30° of latitude, the degree of longitude measures but 47. Comment is unnecessary, for it is clear that no ship from Europe, bound to any part of Asia, would ever pass through the canal.

The distances and statements which I give you are from actual calculation, have been a long time before the public, and not contradicted or doubted.

And this is the only route where the wilderness lands can be made to furnish the means for its accomplishment. And its starting point is nearer to all the Atlantic cities, giving all a far better opportunity to participate in all its vast benefits, than any other

route, if feasible, and the means could be furnished for its accomplishment, which is not possible either from the public lands or from subscribers.

It has been my endeavor to show that this is the only route for this great highway for nations, and that the means which I have asked for, would be made ample only by the road itself; and I hope I have not failed so to do. But there are other views, opinions and points, to satisfy. There are those who (perhaps without examination) think, or fear, too much may be gained to those who may be interested with me in the work—that it may create much individual power—accumulate lands in individual hands, &c. In answer, I say, the land is now worth little or nothing; if of any value hereafter, that value would be derived from the road alone, and those who buy the land on its borders would receive all the benefit. The land must be sold and settled, or the road cannot be built; and as the government owns 1,000,000.000 of acres, there could be no monopoly in sale; if the price demanded was too high, the lands would not sell, and the road could not be built. The lands cannot accumulate, because the act will provide and fix the time of sale for the one-half at public auction in lots of 40 to 160 acres.

It has been said that I have asked for too much land; but I have asked for no more than sufficient to guaranty the complete success of the work, without which it would be idle to commence it. I have asked for the lands, not for myself, but that they may be set apart expressly for this work, and its success; failing, the government can lose nothing, while I must lose everything. I have asked for the balance, *if any*, after paying for *all*, and after the road is completed, as a reward for the work; but if it is feared that the remuneration may be disproportioned to the extent and importance of the work, then I am ready to relinquish all claim of this sort, and let the surplus money, *if any*, and lands, go into the Treasury, and belong to the people; the people may give me anything or nothing, as they please; if they will but allow me to be their instrument to accomplish this great work, it is enough. I ask no more.

The people who buy and settle upon the lands will be free and independent as *all* other citizens are under our institutions, and as much above any control or influence which I might desire or be charged with desiring to exercise over them, as the people who are now daily buying and settling upon the government lands, who have some reputation for being tenacious of their rights and liberties; they will allow no political or individual interference with their privileges; and, be assured, they are, and will be fully capable of understanding and guarding all the immunities which the Constitution guaranties to the citizen, whether of State or Territory.

As to power over laborers, it is unworthy the gravity of the subject. To build the road labor must be employed, and it must be subject to supervision and direction. The same objections would hold to all public works and their conductors, to all agents of the government, whether in a civil, military or other capacity. It can be obviated but in one way: let the commissioners be authorized to act as a check upon my operations, in this respect, if the danger is so threatening, though it might be necessary first to show what political power could be exercised in a land of uninterrupted prairie, without population or civilization.

Power and influence over States and Territories through which the road will pass.

Almost all the route through which I propose to pass is a waste, uninhabited country, which is to be peopled and made Territories and States by this road alone. The government owns the lands, and the right to give, appropriate and sell them for this purpose is admitted.

While there are no people except those who are drawn forward by the facilities which the road *only* can give, there certainly can be no difficulty, as interest is mutual. When a Territory interests will be the same, and all legislative acts must meet the approbation of Congress, which can and will provide and protect all. When admitted a State, Congress will prescribe the terms and conditions, but the people, the lands and the road, become parts and parcel of the State, subject to the same enactments, laws and regulations, as all other people and property of the State, save such reservations as may be made by Congress. So it appears to me that the State and people of the State would hold the power over the road, not the road over the people. Its exactions

light, under the control of, and fixed by, Congress, would always be useful to the people, and would never conflict in any way with their interests. But the day is past with us for any institution, man or body of men, to set themselves up against popular opinion or popular interest. No such can stand. And in this case, at the will of the people, Congress could at any time repeal the act, or make such enactments as would be necessary, and if its management at any time should operate to the disadvantage of the people, why, there could be but one voice against the many, and a change forced to take place.

The necessity for and importance of this work must, I think, be apparent to all. As a means of connecting Oregon and the Pacific coast to us, it would be to that coast every thing, the strongest chain which would bind them to us, the best and almost only means of communication, the proper channel through which they can receive the protecting care and benefits of our free government, and the only safe avenue by which they can participate in our prosperity and our glory; the source of all their wealth and social happiness, now so remote from, and so difficult of access, that no exchanges of commodities can take place, and they derive no benefit from a connexion with us; and without this road, the entire Pacific coast must seek other intercourse for an exchange of commodities, in which we cannot participate, and it must become a separate and distinct nation, controlling the valuable fisheries and commerce of all the Pacific, and all its islands, of Japan, of China, and of all Asia, and become our most dangerous commercial rival. But build this road, and they can participate in all our prosperity, in all our glory, and share in all the benefits of our free government, and we participate in all their local advantages, and the iron band could never be sundered.

It is important and necessary as the only means by which the greater part of the immense wilderness, from the lakes to the ocean, can ever be settled, or made equal to sustain population, and must remain forever useless to mankind, being the greater part without timber, and without navigable streams to communicate with civilization or markets. But this road would open it to settlement and production, with the means of communicating with all the markets of the world, bringing into life and use the only means by which the commerce, not only of our country, but of all the world, can be increased and sustained, and would bring into market lands hitherto too remote for settlement; making valuable and productive that which would otherwise be useless to the nation and to the world, and increasing the value of other government lands far beyond the amount appropriated to this work.

Important and necessary as the only means of providing for the immense over population of Europe, which is daily flocking to our shores. Their small means soon exhausted, they see abundance around them, almost without price, but that small price they can no longer pay; necessity plunges them into vice, and perhaps crime, and they become burdensome to our citizens, all which evils are increasing to an alarming extent, and they must increase, unless there can be some great and important point in our interior, to which such emigrants can be attracted immediately on their landing, where their little means, with their labor, can purchase land; where they will escape the tempting vices of our cities; where they will have a home, and there labor upon their *own* soil will produce not only their daily bread, but in time an affluence, of which they could not have dreamed in their native land, and become consumers of your products. The commencement of this road would make that point of attraction; the labor of the emigrant would grade the road and pay in part for his land, his produce from his own soil would be required by the laborers on the road, and, at low tolls, it would be the sure means (at all seasons) of transit for any surplus to all the markets of the world, immediately producing comfort and independence.

In building railroads through a settled country, by a company, the laborer has no interest in, or expected benefit from the work, beyond his daily pay, which is often wasted in intemperance, while here the laborer would not only be interested in it, as the means for his daily bread, but be sure that its results would benefit his condition, and elevate himself and family to affluence. Man must first be fed and clothed before he can be reformed. The starving mendicant will listen to no precepts of morality

until you give him bread, but you feed and clothe, and his heart warms with gratitude, and you may lead him on; and here, on this road, I care not how low the condition, all will be found to labor, because removed far from our cities, the food and sustenance for indolence and vice, and soon they will find themselves surrounded with comforts and plenty, the reward of their own toil, and their energies will kindle into a flame of ambition and desire, and we shall be enabled to educate them to our system, to industry, prosperity, and virtue.

Civilization, with all its influences, would march step by step with it.

The pioneer settler is subject to severe toils, hardships, and deprivations, but none more so, than from the lawlessness which surrounds him; he has gone beyond the pale of civilization, and even law, and is forced to avenge his own wrongs, and often falls a victim to the lawless and worse than savage robber, and his wife and little ones left destitute in the wilderness; but on this road there could be no pioneer settler, because both would go on together. After the two first years, it would draw to it 100,000 souls annually. Cities, towns, and villages would spring up like magic, because the road, the cheap means of transit for the products of man's labor, to all the markets of the world, would leave a rich reward for that labor, and afford the sure means for the accomplishment of all.

Important and necessary in a commercial, political and military point of view. It would give us the control of, and make the entire commerce of the world tributary to us, the grand thoroughfare for all the nations of the earth, bringing into use the entire basin of the Mississippi, and taking its vast products to all the markets of the world; with the tolls on the foreign commerce upon this great high-way for nations, would bring the nations of the earth indebted to us, and here, on this continent, would be the great banking house, the grand exchange for all the world.

In a political and military aspect:

It would enable us, at small expense, to concentrate our forces, munitions and stores, at any point on the Atlantic or Pacific, or any part of our vast interior, in the short space of from 3 to 8 days, and transmit the mail in a little more than half that time; and to Oregon, by telegraph, out run the sun by 10 hours. And with a naval depot at Oregon, with a comparatively small navy, we command the vast Pacific, the South Atlantic, the Indian Ocean, and the Chinese Seas. Yes, I may say, we shall command the world. How different would be our position with this Mexican war; at a trifling expense, and without hazard of life, the entire west coast of Mexico, would be under our complete control. But when the entire human family can be brought together in a free exchange of commodities, wars must cease, as there can be no cause for strife, and armies and navies no more needed.

It is our destiny to accomplish this vast revolution for all mankind. We have this vast wilderness land our inheritance, purchased with the toil and blood of our fathers, the labor of man applied to it, brings forth the abundant means for this great work; the labor richly rewarded, the work accomplished, and the entire world brought together as one nation.

I might speculate upon the future, and predict what will be the vast results from the accomplishment of this great work; but it has been my object to give you a plain simple business statement, based upon facts only, and you can see all—the subject is before you, the field is open to the mind, and, I hope, plain to all. It is no experiment, for all the requisite elements are now in daily use and employment, therefore, I say, it is but a simple work. Let the road be graded, the timber and iron put down, the locomotive and cars put upon it, and all is done. At the same time, the facilities which it yields to man, would have created its being and support.

By looking at the map again, you will see our position, and will see that the subject cannot be exaggerated. Europe, with 250,000,000 of population, with the Atlantic between us on the one side, and all Asia, with 700,000,000 of souls, with the calm Pacific between us, the other side, and look at our vast continent, the centre of all, now more than 2,000 miles of which is a howling, savage, waste wilderness; the greater part forever to be useless to man. But this road will open it to settlement and

cultivation, giving it free and cheap intercourse, and rapid communication with all the world.

It would extend agricultural population and production, affording exchanges to sustain all other branches of industry. so as that, I may be almost allowed to say, it will give to every man, woman and child on the earth, means to live and be comfortable, if they will but work.

It will give us the means, and force the completion of your road to Ohio; the New York and New England roads, the Baltimore road, the Richmond road, and the Charleston and Savannah road, all to Ohio, and join in one, so as to meet this great highway for nations, at or near where it will cross the Mississippi; then the grand centre of this continent, and of all the world, would be near the Missouri river, where, at 30 miles per hour, it would require, from that centre, but two days and a-half to any Atlantic city; two days and a-half to the Pacific, and at the present rate of steamers, but 25 days to any part of the globe; thus we should be brought together, at the grand centre, as one family, in two days and a-half, and the whole world, as one nation, to the same centre, in 25 days. I need not tell you what must be the inevitable results, morally, religiously, commercially, and politically; it would carry with it, from ocean to ocean, a belt of population 3,000 miles in extent, with the same manners, habits, thoughts, tastes, actions and interests; yes, the same religion, a flood of light, life and liberty, which would spread over, enlighten and enliven the heathenism of all Asia.

Gentlemen, it is my desire that some action may be had on this subject, by your honorable body, in your legislative capacity. Seventeen States have acted upon it almost without a dissenting voice.

It appears to me the points for your consideration and decision are, do you want the road? will you be benefitted by it? and are you willing the lands, which I ask for, should be applied to this work on the terms proposed? That you and all the United States would be benefitted, I think no one can doubt. Your local and geographical position gives you great advantages for a connection with this great highway for nations. Your great road to Pittsburg on the lake, will be undoubtedly carried out, and will as certainly be continued on through Ohio, where all the Atlantic States will be interested in joining in one to meet this great road, yours being the shortest and of less elevated grade of any, except the Georgia road, which must give your State great advantages, and make it one of the great and most important avenues for the commerce of all the world, and you may yet see the great London mail for India pass your doors.

The immense amount of material which would be required for this road, would benefit all the country around, but none more than your State. The iron alone for a single track would cost more than 20 millions of dollars, and for a double track, which would be forced almost immediately 40 millions, all of which must be furnished from your State, Ohio, Virginia and Kentucky, because you have the material, can furnish it cheaper than from any other source, and have the best and cheapest means of transit to the road.

It may appear strange that I attempt to point out the great natural advantages of States where I am not personally and directly interested; but I look to the vast and rich basin of the Mississippi, as the great field for the production of the great staples, for food and clothing for all the world, the foundation on which every other branch of industry is based, and on which only can they be sustained. As a nation, it should be our object as it is our interest, individually and collectively as such, to get these vast products, on which *all* depend to market, at the cheapest possible expense of both time and money, and at all seasons, commanding markets and leaving a balance with the producer as a reward for his toil, and to enable him to consume largely of *all* our other different products of labor, as well as those of all the world, and thereby sustain all; and it matters not to me whether this great, this vital object is attained through your State or through New York, the grand result would be the same, and equally claims my energies and efforts.

The change of the route for the commerce with Asia has, since before the time of Solomon, even changed the destinies of Empires and States. It has and does in fact, to this day, control the world; to change its route to our Continent will be its last, its

final change; for unless the Pacific slope should become a separate and distinct nation, there would never be a nation west of us to rise from our decline and take it; but this road would forever prevent such a catastrophe, and this last, this final change must benefit every section and every interest of our wide spread country.

Look at our present position. We see that the commerce of Asia, with civilization, has marched west, each nation from the Phœnicians, to proud England, when supplanted or forced to its relinquishment has declined, dwindled into nothingness, and a new nation west, risen up with vigor and life, to control all. When this road shall have been completed, that commerce, with civilization, will have encircled the globe, and here it is, as fast, as fixed, as the earth and time itself. Here we stand forever; we reach out one hand to all Asia, and the other to all Europe, willing for all to enjoy the great blessings we possess, claiming free intercourse and exchange of commodities with all, seeking not to subjugate any, but *all* the entire, the whole tributary, and at our will subject to us.

Statesmen have always considered that the great strength of England's power was in her immense merchant marine, with the naval force required to protect it, enabling her at short notice to send her armies and fleets to all parts of the world, and pounce upon her prey. Her commerce with Asia employs a greater part of both her merchant and military marine. The change to this route of the commerce of Europe with Asia, would reduce the tonnage now employed to one-half its present amount, and at the same time increase our own. What a blow! what a reduction to England power!

On the Atlantic our industry and enterprize will not fear to compete for the carrying of the commerce of all Europe with Asia, then forced to our shores; while on the Pacific we may say, *that* ocean will be our own: then imagine the ships and men wanted with the material for building, clothing and food to sustain them, and would your State get no benefit from such a field?

The opening of a free, cheap and frequent intercourse with Japan, with China, all the islands of the Pacific and Indian ocean, and with India, would open to us a commerce in variety and extent far beyond the power of human calculation to estimate; and so soon as there is safety for person and property—so soon as the cannibal and the pirate give way to civilization, which will be forced by this intercourse, then the millions of China will emigrate to and cover the islands of the seas now worse than useless to man; then the Chinese will cease to destroy their offspring, because they will have found a place where the earth can yield them a support; and it is our ships and our men that must move there, and with all our industry and enterprize we shall not be able to furnish so many ships as will be wanted for this purpose alone; and surely the building and furnishing so many ships and men must benefit every section of our great Union.

An unlimited market would be opened to us with all Asia, and the new and unlimited demand for our cotton, our rice, our tobacco, our hemp, our flour, corn, pork, beef, manufactured goods, and all our various and vast products for Japan, for China, and for all Asia, could not fail to benefit your great State to an incalculable extent.

Though the labor for its construction, and the money for the lands, may all come from Europe, can any one doubt that money would add so much to the actual cash capital of, and therefore benefit the whole country; and the labor would *all* be under the guidance, management and control of our own people. Though the emigrant would come in large bodies as they now do, yet they could not settle down on the line of this road, isolating themselves from our people and our habits, retaining their prejudices, language and even costume, as they do now; because this work would draw to it the talent and enterprize of all the country, south and north; cities, towns and villages would spring up for the benefit of *all*, every one claiming to participate; a sense of life, energy and activity, urged on by the lightning speed, which would uproot all prejudices and break down all barriers, even if founded and fixed by centuries, all must give way to, and assimilate with us. And can any American, knowing the persevering enterprize and energy of *all* our people from one extreme of our great country to the other, believe or even suppose, that such a people would let such an enterprise as this escape

them? No, they will participate in, and control all, and the foreigner must serve his apprenticeship under them.

The land which I ask for is not given away by the nation, even if not stipulated that I am to pay for all; for the entire cost of the road would go directly to the people for labor and materials; and as before said, add so much as the road costs to our actual cash capital, and it matters not to any what section of the country or world that labor is taken from, because it gives to the laborer the ability to consume the products of all our different climes; and can you, can your State in any other way, expect an equal benefit, an equal consideration for your interest in the lands?

I have devoted much time to this great subject, to me it is "as clear as the noon day."

My position is somewhat peculiar compared with those who have undertaken enterprises of a State or National character, who have had the support and patronage of the General or State Government, have been in the employment, and their time and abilities, the property of the people, while I, a lone individual have spent exclusively, more than three years on this side, and nearly two years in Asia, have explored a part of the route, abandoned all other pursuits, devoted myself entirely to it, taken the responsibility and risk of success, together with all expenses upon myself, so that if it does not succeed no man would be taxed one cent, and not one dollar demanded from the National treasury.

I do it not for the gain of wealth, or power, or influence, but for the great good which I am persuaded it must produce to our whole country.

You who are acquainted with the history of mankind, know full well, that all the great enterprises which have resulted in the greatest good to man, have been brought about by the perseverance, the toil, and I may say, suffering of individual man, without mercenary aim or aid, and I expect none other end.

I do it because I know some one's whole life must be sacrificed to it, and I do it because I believe it to be a part of, and that our destiny cannot be accomplished without it. I am here not for one State alone, but for all.

If I know mine own heart, I have no desire that this work should benefit one section of our Union over an other, beyond what nature has pointed out; and what man from local feeling should not misunderstand. Look at your position and what is nature's indication? Is it not plain that your local position gives you equal advantages with any of the States, for a connexion with this great high way for nations?

If I know mine own heart, I feel that I am acting for all this great Union. A work like this I would not undertake it for one section or for one interest. I believe that we have a destiny to accomplish by this road, which destiny, if the road is built, cannot be prevented by men or nations. I do not therefore believe that our Union is ever to the end of time to be severed. I believe that our institutions of free government were established by an all-wise and overruling Providence, whose ends must be accomplished; that all the parts were combined and necessary to each other, and should harmonize as one. That though the demagogue may rave and rage, it is against a destiny he cannot change, a power controlling all, and he must fall harmless to the ground. I believe that we are the chosen people to carry out God's promises and designs to man, that there is none other way or means for the accomplishment of His great purposes; if not so there must come an end to religious and civil liberty, and our race must fall back into darkness and savage barbarism. This is inevitable, and can any one believe such a destiny awaits mankind? No. I would as soon believe man has power to derange or destroy the stars of Heaven, as these our own, whose machinery was copied from that above and works the same. Now and then a new planet is found afar off in the distance, first a mist and then a bright star, and takes its place in the constellation, with no derangement of the machine, because all is perfect. It is true, that in their different flights, sometimes they pass between us and the great centre, the sun, when darkness and gloom overshadow us, 'tis but for a moment, and all is bright and clear again, and we see 'twas but the fickle moon; and so with us, darkness and clouds, the breeze will change and fan us to repose again, and on we go together, forever, to accomplish the great, the glorious destiny which awaits us.

I have no desire, in the grant I ask for, but that the lands may be so placed, that by sale and settlement thereof I can carry out this great work. I ask it not for myself, 'tis for you and for your children; I ask it not to benefit myself. It promises me nothing, but a life of laborious toil and perplexity, every step surrounded with difficulties, only to be overcome by an energy and perseverance which must know no rest. The lands are yours, the right to grant yours, and the glory will all be yours. I ask it for your benefit, and that of every man, woman and child of our great nation. I give to it my life, my *all*. If I fail you lose nothing, for the lands are still yours; but if I succeed, and I feel that I shall, my race would have been run, the end to me have come, but to you and your children the prize won; never to depart, and richer far than nation or combined nations ever before possessed, the command and control of all the world, won, too, without cost of treasure, without the cost of blood.

If I am right, and you can see your interest and pleasure in it, I ask and feel that I have a claim for your support and encouragement. It is a heavy load for one mind, and unless supported I cannot sustain it; but if you think me wrong tell me so.

What I ask may be considered as of no value to the nation, or use to man as it now is, and I am to pay for it, in money, four times at least what the government could ever receive for it in its present condition.

The graduation bill will soon, if not at this session, become a law, reducing the price of the best lands to 25 cents per acre, or give them to the States in which they are located. I say will reduce, because no man will pay more, when by squatting for ten years he gets it at the lowest price, if not even without pay, and I say will become a law, because there are now 50,000 voters on lands they have not paid for, enough to turn the Presidential election and too potent to be resisted, and every new State feels and declares that the land should belong to the State, not the nation; and the time is not far distant when their declarations will be law. Now, almost daily, we hear it declared in and out of Congress, that any man who chooses to settle upon 160 acres, shall have it without pay; therefore I think it clear and plain and certain, that if you do not get this road you will get nothing for your interest in the lands, and such is the view taken by all the old States which I have visited.

Viewing this great subject as I do, I have felt it my duty to place it before your honorable body in my plain simple business manner. I am not a public speaker, as you will have noticed, but I hope you have understood me. It is now for you to decide, if this work shall be accomplished—if the whole world is to be made tributary to us, and its vast commerce pay transit dues across our continent, and through your State—if the now destitute emigrant shall grade this road, and with his labor purchase a home, where his toil upon his own soil can receive its proper reward; himself elevated from inducement to vice and crime, and his offspring reared to affluence, virtue and honor. If you tell me to go on, it will give me new strength, new hopes; I shall feel that I am acting for and under you, my efforts will be increased, and the work will be accomplished; but if you say no, I shall feel that a cloud has risen up against me and fear that I may be wrong.

It is all important that action should be had by Congress, without any delay; the lands are fast being taken up on the first part of the route, on which all depends; and the immense immigration with the soldier's bounty lands, will defeat it almost immediately on the opening of the spring; it is, therefore, necessary that I should be at Washington, and I wish to visit the Legislature of Virginia before its adjournment, and shall consider it the greatest possible favor, if your honorable body will be pleased to act upon the subject to-morrow, so that I may leave for Washington without delay. And, gentlemen, I feel myself highly honored, and greatly indebted, for the kind manner in which you have listened to me, and for the interest you have manifested in this great subject, by the accomplishment of the work, I hope and believe, you will be more than richly rewarded.

An objection having been raised against my route on account of supposed obstructions from snow and ice, induces me to append the following:

As we go west from the great lakes it is milder and less snow on the mountains. In Wisconsin the snow seldom falls over a foot deep all winter, and this dry, not

thaw and freeze. As we go into and through the mountains, the elevation, of course, increases the cold; the snow falls about Christmas, and remains on till May—its falls not frequent, and dry, with no rains to thaw it.

Mr. Fitzpatrick, whose experience for years renders him the best authority, says that, "at Fort Laramie there is very little snow, and rarely lays on the ground; has never seen a depth of more than 15 inches, and that very rare, and never remains more than one or two days; thence to the Pass, snow continues during the winter, about three months, depth 15 to 18 inches; thence to Greene river a decrease in depth, but remains longer than at the east side of the Pass; from Greene river to Bear river, crossing a range, about the same as at the Pass; thence falling on the Bear river, it is rare that snow is found at any time; but descending the river northerly to Soda Springs, snow is again found one and a-half to two feet deep: then as you come to Fort Hall, no snow, and very little on to Louis' fork, to an immense plain; from this plain we get into a branch of Salmon river, without crossing a divide, and no snow of consequence to the Blue range, where snow is again found two feet deep; then there is no snow or winter to the ocean."

Mr. Ramsey Crooks, who spent a winter at Fort Laramie, confirms the statement of Mr. Fitzpatrick, as to that place.

R. Campbell, Esq., a highly respectable and very intelligent merchant of St. Louis, spent three winters in succession, and a part of the fourth, in the mountains from the Pass to Fort Hall, and on to the head of Salmon river. He says "that one winter *only* the snow fell three feet deep; fall commences 1st to 4th November, (does not vary in time;) very little and melts off. At Christmas the heavy fall commences; (considers its regularity as to time remarkable;) the falls are not frequent, and are dry, remain till April; some winters but little snow, so that we could travel over most of the country. We found buffalo all winter, living on the grass under the snow, which they root up; our animals were sustained in same manner; there are three routes from the Pass to Fort Hall, all good."

From these statements, from the most respectable sources, and from many others, it appears that we have nothing to fear from snows in the winter, and the route would not be impeded at all. The snows and winters are not so severe as in New York and New England, where delays are scarcely noticed, and much less than in a milder climate. I have witnessed more delays and difficulties between Baltimore and Washington and Richmond, than in any of the northern States, because, where the winter is severe, the snow falls dry, and can be removed with machinery, when the rails remain clear until another fall, which is not so frequent as in milder climates. When frequent sleet and rain, freeze and thaw, cover the rails with ice, much more difficult to remove than the deepest snow.

On the Baltimore and Ohio road, from Cumberland to Frostburgh, on a grade of 135 feet to the mile, a locomotive, cars and all, passed up through drifts of snow 8 and 10 feet deep, without difficulty, leaving the rails clear.

Having the most satisfactory accounts assuring us there is in the mountains but little rain, little and unfrequent snows, the snows very dry, and easily removed with machinery, we need not, therefore, fear or expect interruption at all.